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ABSTRACT

The concern of this report is differentiated staffing. Background, historical precedents, and early models of this concept are explored, and a theory base is found in the concepts of a functional division of labor (specialized teaching talent) and the classical definition of promotion based on merit. Projects in differentiated staffing at Florida State University are briefly reviewed, and some conclusions are reached. Contrary to the expectations of most educators, the report finds that the immediate effect of differentiated staffing is apt to be limited, but it can lead to an educational climate that encourages change. Some indication is given that the concept has been watered-down in practice and that there has been economic confusions in the staffing variations. But, on the whole, the report finds that conditions of teaching and learning have been improved in every case. The report includes chapters on the role of the government, states, and teachers' agencies in differentiated staffing. Concluding, this report finds that more research and developmental efforts aimed at discovering which specific teacher role and behaviors will produce which specific effects in students are needed. A selected bibliography is provided. (Related document is SP 006 351.) (JA)

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THE EDUCATION PROFESSIONS 1971-72

An annual report on the people who serve our schools and colleges—1971–72—as required by the Education Professions Development Act

Part II - Differentiated Staffing: A State of the Art Report

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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SP 006 481

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Elliot L. Richardson, *Secretary*
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Preface

This is the second of four parts of the Commissioner's annual report on the state of the education professions in 1971-72. The first part concerning the supply of and demand for teachers in public elementary and secondary schools and in colleges and universities has been completed. The remaining parts, to be issued over the next few months, will report on the supply of and demand for special education personnel and on a manpower survey of the school library media field.

Differentiated staffing, the concern of this report, has become a sensitive and highly political subject, but much of the fervor can be traced as much to disagreement over the concept as to any threat it appears to pose or any positive good it seems to promise. The purpose of this report, therefore, is threefold: first, to define clearly the concept of differentiated staffing; second, to relate the results observed by schools which have experimented with it; and, third, to state some conclusions about the present state of the art and what the next steps should be.

The report begins with a review of early staffing models and the philosophies on which they were formulated; then analyzes research results and both the advantages and constraints of Federal contributions. It summarizes the positions of teachers' organizations, State education agencies, and other groups that might influence the acceptance or rejection of differentiated staffing, and makes some projections about the future of differentiated staffing. The report concludes with recommendations for the next steps suggested by educators who have worked actively with the differentiated staffing concept. An extended bibliography is included for the use of those who may wish to investigate the field further.

As pointed out in this report, the results of the experiments with 24 model differentiated staffing projects supported by the Education Professions Development Act are mixed. No clear conclusions can be drawn about the potential of staff differentiation for improving the achievement of children. The projects strongly suggest that staff differentiation can lead to an educational climate which will encourage changes that should improve the conditions of teaching and learning and have a significant impact on the students themselves.

Despite the encouraging indications found in these projects, there is need for more analysis and understanding of staff differentiation. This is the purpose of this part of the Commissioner's 1971-72 report on the education professions.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This report was prepared under the direction of Gerald W. Elbers, Chief of the Undergraduate Preparation of Educational Personnel Branch in the National Center for Improvement of Educational Systems, which is responsible for the combined 1971-72 report. The contractor for the development of the report is James Olivero, former executive director of the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory and now director of the Nueva Day School and Learning Center, Hillsborough, Calif.

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CHAPTER 1

Differentiated Staffing: Defining the Term

Over the past 5 years in the education profession the term *differentiated staffing* has probably generated as much energetic, usually emotional, discussion as any other topic. Some of the discussion undoubtedly has been motivated by differences of opinion about the meaning and substance of this new addition to the long list of educational jargon. Differentiated staffing means many things to many different people, and in some instances it appears to mean—at different times—different things to the same people. Therefore, any definition of the term must be operational. Throughout the United States there is considerable latitude in its use by both theorists and practitioners.

Barbee offers a general definition that depicts most of the characteristics of the differentiated staffing models now being tried:

> Differentiated school staffing is a concept of organization that seeks to make better use of educational personnel. Teachers and other educators assume different responsibilities based on carefully prepared definitions of the many teaching functions. The differential assignment of educational personnel goes beyond traditional staff allocations based on common subject matter distinctions and grade-level arrangements and seeks new ways of analyzing essential teaching tasks and creative means for implementing new educational roles.[1]

This definition raises a number of questions. For example, what does it suggest that is particularly imaginative, creative, positive, negative, disturbing, or different? In view of such an apparently unobtrusive statement, why has all the furor endured?

To get at these and other issues, the authors of this report approached the matter from three perspectives: (1) What caused the differentiated staffing movement to gain such wide attention and momentum? (2) What is currently known about the implementation of differentiated staffing? (3) What, if any, action should be taken by the Office of Education to encourage or discourage further support for differentiated staffing ideas?

BACKGROUND OF THE MOVEMENT

The mass media and educational literature, justly or unjustly, are crammed with opinions about the ills of American education. As accurate as some assessments may be, the criticisms are seldom constructive.

A number of those who have analyzed differentiated staffing have concluded that it is popular because it apparently provides "answers" to problems. Indeed, superproponents of the concept hail it as *the* panacea. Perhaps the mood of our society is such that those who have "the answers" tend to gain a wide following. On the other hand, perhaps it is impossible to apply any set of principles to differentiated staffing because the sound and the fury surrounding the issue destroy all efforts directed toward a fair and accurate assessment of its effectiveness and efficiency.

In any event, the armies on both sides of the issue are lined up seemingly unaware of or unconcerned about the facts and their ramifications. It is hoped that this report will help to postpone the battle until more is known about the cause of the war.

Many advocates believe differentiated staffing will:

1. Individualize instruction for children by bringing to the school setting new people (or retrained persons) who can diagnose learning difficulties and prescribe solutions.

2. Make the job of each person more rewarding, psychologically as well as financially, by establishing increased specialization of responsibilities. Financial rewards would be consistent with performance, not necessarily with longevity, as is the case with the single-salary schedule.

3. Avoid the evils of merit pay as conceived by the teachers' associations.

4. Establish accountability and responsibility for teaching and learning.

5. Create conditions which force teacher education institutions to modify their programs, thereby becoming more relevant to the needs of our time.

6. Change the organizational structure of the schools, distributing the power for decision-making among those responsible for the execution of decisions, particularly classroom teachers.

7. Offer a career pattern for teachers who wish to remain in the classroom rather than to be promoted away from children into administration.

8. Provide a career opportunity program for the poor through well-delineated career ladder and lattice arrangements. This may be one way to bring home and school closer together for common causes.

9. Force needed review in teacher certification procedures and requirements.

10. Convince the public of the need for increased fiscal support of education and at the same time redeploy existing resources for more efficient use of current financing.

To attack some of these statements as if they were undesirable would be similar to putting down mother, God, and apple pie. The concern is whether differentiated staffing will do what it is purported to do. That is where the friction begins.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENT AND EARLY MODELS

Staff differentiation in the public schools is neither new nor absolute. All schools across the Nation are utilizing some elements of role differentiation—as a continuing process of work specialization or as an aspect of the division of labor in human organizations. Except for teachers' pay, ranges of salaries based on differentiated responsibilities apply at almost every school personnel level; e.g., superintendents, principals, curriculum directors, and so on.

The historical precedent for differentiated staffing can be found in the Bell-Lancaster monitorial program, elements of which may be traced back to Greek and Roman instruction.[2] The monitorial method originated in 1791 when Andrew Bell, superintendent of an orphan asylum in India, fired a teacher and replaced him with an older student. When the method was brought to England several years later, it was further developed by a former seaman, Joseph Lancaster, in the charity schools of London. Lancaster's differentiated staff included both adults and students in a hierarchy in which authority was matched with responsibility. In descending order, Lancaster's staff consisted of the master, the teacher, the assistant, the tutor, the usher, and the subusher.[3]

Gradually the monitorial school idea made its way to major eastern cities in the United States—New York, Hartford, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. In 1848 there was an historic shift in the structure of American education when the Quincy graded school was developed. With it came the modern definition of the teacher's role. At Quincy, students were moved from the large Lancasterian lecture hall to permanent class residence in the accompanying recitation rooms. Here they were grouped on the basis of chronological age; no other criterion was available then. At this point the single-teacher-per-class concept was born. Teachers were separated physically, and the personnel hierarchy of the Lancasterian school was abolished. The base was altered from a task-centered structure involving 20–30 pupils to a time-based, non-task-centered division of labor. As described by Charters,[4] the "work flow" in the elementary school "is divided according to the age-grade of

the pupil" and "the teacher specializes in children of a given age and grade level." The high school "is divided according to subject matter, without regard for . . . age-grade. . . . The teacher is a specialist in a given subject."

American education changed swiftly to a system of graded classes, graded curriculum, graded textbooks—all based on a definition of grouping pupils which had been invented prior to the concept of IQ. The Lancasterian personnel hierarchy was abandoned, but its teaching methodology was not. Much of what is stultifying about contemporary education can be traced to this fact.

Specialization is inevitable when organizations increase in size; schools have not been exceptions. The single-teacher-per-class concept remained the essential building block of the system and newer roles were tacked on to it. From the teacher's role came the principal-teacher, the superintendent, and later, assistant superintendents, assistant principals, supervisors, directors, coordinators, counselors, department chairmen, and so on. A system grew and became accepted as orthodox. It was based on insufficient data concerning the nature of the learner and it assumed incorrectly that one teacher, with supervision, could master both content and methodology.

Staff differentiation in its present form offers relatively few alternatives to the Lancasterian model. Early models of differentiated staffing attempted to break with the past but found it difficult to depart from the historical trends of the division of labor. Initial designs left the role of classroom teacher intact and added new roles to cope with organizational or administrative problems. Roles which differentiated among teaching skills—involving the development of more sophisticated expertise—were conceptualized but seldom implemented. Pioneers in staff differentiation did create career ladders for teachers, by adding new roles for them, such as curricular, research, or administrative specialists. However, it still remained true that promotion in education led away from teaching.

Second generation models of flexible staffing avoided preoccupation with the career ladder as an end worthy of itself. Instead, primary emphasis was placed on the role of the teacher and the act of teaching as a means toward learning. This shift from a holistic to a task-centered view of what the teacher does appears to be defensible and logical. It stresses assessment of student needs (diagnosis) and analysis of teacher tasks (prescription).

While early models also focused almost exclusively on structural changes, process orientation became the starting point for many later and more sophisticated staffing models. Teacher roles arranged in career ladders cannot be based upon pupil needs because the two are not parallel. As instruction takes place, pupil needs change; this mandates staffing flexibility. If the teaching hierarchy is valid, it must be able to reorder teacher functions according to client needs.[5] Flexibility and reordering are major criteria to help determine whether models of staff differentiation are "refinement" or "reform" types. Staff differentiation has been conceived almost totally as a solution to teacher or organizational problems. In some cases, the Lancasterian methodology has become even more dramatically solidified with the reinstatement of its personnel hierarchy.

If differentiated staffing is not really new, why the controversy? Why the pro and con articles in the professional journals and lay press?

What is "new" is the idea of creating a hierarchy of teaching roles. The teaching hierarchy has evoked heated charges and countercharges within and outside the education profession. As in the case of the Lancasterian school, staff differentiation has been proposed as a necessary economic measure to counteract the rising costs of education, particularly the rising salaries of teachers. Concomitantly, it has been advocated as a strategy to break the tradition of the single-salary schedule. Closely aligned with this concept is the argument for the necessity of a bureaucratic career ladder as described by Max Weber,[6] the German sociologist who coined the term *bureaucracy*. Weber's ladder is a device for attracting, retaining, and promoting personnel on the basis of competence within the organization.

At least one student of the education profession argues that without advanced career offices rooted in teaching responsibilities, a senior pro-

fession of teaching is not possible.[7] The inability of the profession to resolve the perennial and crippling problem of teacher turnover has increased the resiliency of this argument.

Organized teacher groups, however, apparently fear that staff differentiation, especially the notion of a vertical teaching hierarchy, will destroy teacher unity at the bargaining table. Since the two major, national organized teacher groups—the National Education Association (NEA) and the American Federation of Teachers (AFT)—have adopted the tactics of labor versus management, they are reluctant to weaken their negotiating positions by allowing the creation of a possible divisive force among members through salary, rank, and role differentials.

Typically, school administrators have been lukewarm to the introduction of a series of advanced teacher offices, or a teaching hierarchy. Some have forecast serious effects on the present division of labor within the administrative hierarchy, possibly because of a redistribution of administrative authority and responsibility.

Arguments have revolved around these issues since the mid-1960's. Just beginning to emerge is the view that the only way a school can continue the equal division of labor among teachers is to make a false assumption about the nature of differences among students; that is, that there are none. Such an assumption is clearly contrary to at least three decades of strategies aimed at individualizing instruction. Since the teacher is the major planner and implementer of curriculum and instruction, child differences will be ignored if the need for differentiated instruction is similarly ignored.

An examination of the history of American schools reveals deliberate attempts to produce institutions created for order. "Teachable" student groups were formed by using the criterion of age-grade placement and its host, the single-teacher-per-class concept of school organization. Bidwell has called this phenomenon the temporal division of labor:

> . . . the temporal division of labor is tied to the age-grade placement of students. . . . Students are assigned as class or grade units to members of the teaching staff. This close correspondence of school grades and age-grades is not typical of other times and places, suggesting that it arises as school systems become routinized, so that students must be moved through the system in batches and cannot be assigned to school grades individually on the basis of achievement.[8]

For differentiated staffing to be considered a major reform, it must couple an increased attempt to differentiate among teaching tasks with research and development efforts aimed at discerning how the teacher's role and how behavior rearrangement can produce different pupil behaviors. Until this is done, differentiated staffing has a very limited, perhaps negative, role in public school reform. It may be a promising means to an end, but the plans are not ends in themselves.

Staff differentiation may increase the cost of inputs without increasing the productivity of the organization; if so, it may be worthless. It is equally clear, however, that staff differentiation may serve as a catalyst, not only changing the organizational structure and increasing and improving productivity, but also requiring the organization to specify and be held accountable for the quality of its results. Output rather than methodology could become the dimension assessed if educational objectives were stated specifically.

> The present public school staffing pattern is neither objective specific, time specific, nor achievement specific. It makes no attempt to diagnose pupils and match teacher skills, interests or abilities to them in any kind of systematic and calculable manner. School is established as a solution before pupils are diagnosed. Criteria for grouping pupils for instruction is based upon nonachievement variables, impervious to need, pacing or achievement prior to the initiation of instruction.[9]

Few who have attempted to build differentiated role responsibilities have begun by assessing needs and establishing objectives to enable them to determine the effectiveness of proposed alternatives. Indeed, at times the U.S. Office of Education's Bureau of Educational Personnel Development (now the National Center for Improvement of Educational Systems) has seemed to presume a direct and positive relationship between teaching hierarchies and more effective schools. Fundamental ques-

tions such as, "What kind of teacher behavior is important to pupils?" have been asked too infrequently. Instead, the question has been, "Can we design and implement a differentiated staff?" The "can" and "should" issues are too limited—because "we can" does not necessarily mean "we should." In the future, questions about learning and teaching must be the basepoints for planning new programs.

An analysis of contemporary staffing models reveals that their differences are slight. There may be varying job titles, hierarchical positions, scheduling patterns, and pay scales and increments; but the models are essentially the same. Almost all early models assumed that a teaching career ladder should mimic the administrative career ladder. Only recently has this assumption been challenged. Actually, there are few alternatives to consider now, and none is a significant change of the status quo. Realistic adventures into the unknown will require the investment of considerable talent and money in research and development of the staffing theories which can be subjected to empirical validation. In all future plans the Office of Education must emphasize the diagnosing of problems before the prescribing of solutions and must build into every program a research and development component to insure this goal.

THEORY BASES FOR DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING

Staff differentiation as conceptualized in the teaching hierarchy could challenge a century of assumptions regarding school practice, organizational structure, the division of power and responsibility, and personnel deployment; but it may or may not serve as a force to change them. This depends upon which base of specialization is utilized in creating the hierarchy, how it is implemented, and whether the teaching act itself is the subject of differentiation or whether it merely serves as a base for "additional responsibilities." To avoid pitfalls from which their earlier counterparts never fully freed themselves, proponents of flexible staffing have attempted to establish an adequate theory base to guide the growth and development of the concept. To build alternative staffing models, assumptions concerning the role of the learner, responsibilities of the instructor, and functions of management should be reexamined and validated.

Where may theoretical bases for flexible staffing be found? Many people assume that educational innovations have strong undergirdings based on theory and research and ask differentiated staffers for preliminary studies. After tracing that inquiry to a dead end, the second attack is to examine the literature upon which staff developers *might* have based their programs had they been more systematic.

Studies of the social structure of organizations yield valuable information along this line, as do studies in management theory, in communication and decision systems, and in planned-changed strategies. Yet these fall short of providing an adequate base for the staffing plans now emerging in public schools. Clearly, innovations in school personnel utilization are increasing in response to crises in the schools; unfortunately, little thought is given to continued research and development of models.

One facet of a theoretical base—cause-effect—could be established from an analysis of the problems of staffing the public schools and some recent staffing experiments. For example, more extensive use of low-paid paraprofessionals is often seemingly based on spiraling staff costs. Such a thesis could be inaccurate; the theorist must dig out alternative explanations. A closer review might determine that teacher aides are being added to the staff to free teachers for more individualized work with children.

Since there seldom are simple answers to complex and, at this point, poorly defined questions concerning the reasons for flexible staffing, much basic investigation is still needed.

A detailed examination of substantive areas of school organizational theory is valuable to staffing innovators but perhaps no more important than a careful study of the assumptions. Much can be learned from studying the early sources of organizational/managerial theory. Church and military patterns, for example, dominated school staffing for more than a century, which explains how—if not why—new roles follow older patterns. While differentiated staffing has been hailed as a reform, it may be nothing more than the reinstatement of the Lancasterian personnel hierarchy and school structure. Since the Lancasterian methodology is still intact with the single-teacher-per-class

concept, the compatibility of the two is merely a matter of reconciling the personnel hierarchy to the basic structure—no small job in itself but certainly not a reform.

Today's world only slightly resembles the one in which classical theorists formed their organizational models. The political, social, and economic factors which shape and influence managerial practices have undergone a stunning evolution. The standard of living, the educational level of the citizenry, the explosion of knowledge, and an accompanying technological delivery capacity have profoundly influenced the behavior of individuals in organizations. Yet the assumptions of classical theorists remain virtually intact. McGregor sums this up quite well:

> . . . knowledge accumulated during recent decades challenges and contradicts assumptions which are still axiomatic in conventional organizational theory. Unfortunately, those classical principles of organization—derived from inappropriate models, unrelated to the political, social, economic and technological milieu, and based on erroneous assumptions about behavior—continue to influence our thinking about the management of . . . human resources.[10]

This criticism does not suggest purging our bookshelves of everything written more than a decade ago. Much of the classical bureaucratic theory has proved sound and should be retained. Certainly the functional division of labor (specialized teaching talent) and the classical idea of promotion based on merit or technical competence are essential to the development of a theory base for contemporary staffing patterns.

The Human Relations Movement among organizational theorists of the late 1920's and the New Administration Era which began in the 1950's provided fertile seedbeds for management theory relevant to flexible school staffing. For instance, McGregor's Theory Y, which is proposed to replace classical assumptions concerning human behavior, has not been lost on staffing innovators. McGregor believes:

> . . . the expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest.
>
> External control and threat of punishment are not the only means for bringing about effort toward organizational objectives.
>
> Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement.
>
> The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity . . . is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population.[11]

Although the principles of human satisfaction, need fulfillment, cooperation, self-actualization, and self-determination were late germinating in educational institutions, they are now beginning to be integrated into innovative staffing structures. This point is emphasized in a statement by the director of one of the earlier staffing projects:

> What has become very apparent is the deep realization that unless staff differentiation is accomplished by a substantial working of the system towards reconciliation of "people" problems via group dynamics and other conflict resolution techniques, a structural change is quite limited as a forcing function for real behavioral change.[12]

Studies dealing with basic theories of human motivation are providing a foundation for current and innovative staffing arrangements. These need to be expanded.

Most organization models are based on management studies in industry. Despite that, they have major implications for schools. Bakke, for instance, features these four factors in his model of social organization:

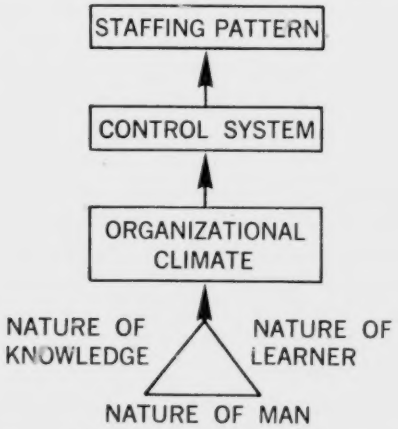
1. The organizational character, made up of the major goals, major policies related to goal fulfillment, value premises implicit in those goals and policies, and the characteristics of the reciprocal rights and obligations between the organization and its participants.

2. Basic resources essential to the operation of the organization—human, material, and ideational.

3. Systems of activity or process, that which occurs as the organization acquires, maintains, transforms and utilizes its basic resources in achieving its objectives.

4. Bonds of organization which preserve the

Figure 1
THEORY BASE FOR DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING



integrity of the organization in an evolving state of dynamic equilibrium.[13]

Some modification is needed for their application to a school setting, but such factors provide the researcher a framework from which a comprehensive model of staff use could be developed. Also, valuable insights can be gained by reviewing two other models: that of March and Simon[14] which characterizes the organization in terms of inputs; and Robert Owens' model[15] which illustrates the congruence and conflict between individual needs and role expectations of an institution.

In addition to the industrial models, a number of recent studies of school staffing innovations are emerging. These are embryonic, but important.

English's conception of differentiated staffing[16] grew out of a study of 12 models classified according to their primary or secondary emphasis on learning, teaching, curriculum, and organization. Only two models emphasized student learning, five emphasized teaching and organization, two emphasized teaching and curriculum, and the remainder emphasized teaching in various combinations with the other elements. From his study, English prescribes the staffing pattern shown in figure 1. It is based upon a control system which in turn is built upon a powerful and positive, idealized organizational climate. The entire model is based upon rational assumptions concerning the nature of knowledge, human behavior and motivation, and the nature of the learner.

DeBloois[17] analyzed schools involved in staffing innovation across 21 variables. By plotting the variables, a profile for each school was determined. From the profiles, six gradations of organizational development were identified and labeled as shown in figure 2. DeBloois later provided a comprehensive framework of staff-use variables to describe, analyze, and evaluate school staffing experiments objectively. This is based on the same notion of school structures developing toward higher degrees of sophistication over time. He proceeded on three assumptions:

1. There are elements common to all forms of staffing innovations.
2. Staffing innovations described by these common variables can be compared and contrasted.
3. Changes in a school staffing arrangement can be viewed as movement along a continuum for each of the variables identified in the conceptual framework.[18]

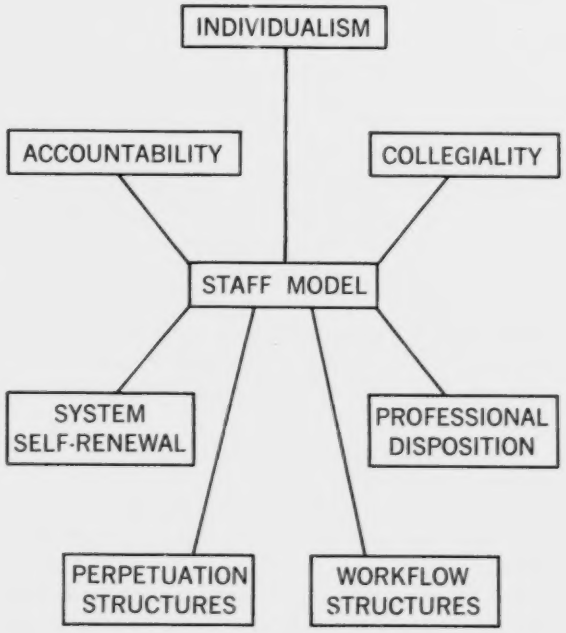
After identifying the elements common to a variety of staffing situations, DeBloois classified them into a cohesive model of seven staff-use variables as illustrated in figure 3. The model draws heavily on contemporary innova-

Figure 2
TYPES OF SCHOOL ORGANIZATION

Exploitative Authoritative	Benevolent Authoritative	Extended Bureaucratic	Consultative Differentiated	Participative Group	Organic Adaptive
(pre-bureaucratic)	(classical bureaucratic)	(extended line expanded staff)	(diffused decision-making)	(horizontal specialization, line disappearing)	(temporary problem-solving clusters)
19th-century schools	most traditional schools	quasi-innovative schools	innovative schools of the past decade	possible structures of the 1970's and beyond	

tions; e.g., differentiated staffing, team teaching, flexible scheduling, cost-effectiveness practices, and individualized instruction. Initial testing in the field and feedback from directors of 24 federally funded staffing projects further verify its comprehensiveness and general adequacy.

Figure 3
STAFF–USE VARIABLES



Individualism, the first category, defines the organization's regard for the uniqueness of each of its members.

Collegiality focuses on the interpersonal relations among individuals in the organization.

Professional disposition defines the impact staffing innovation is having on the professionalization of teachers; that is, their commitment to students, to their own expertise, to the public, to their colleagues, and to the professional organization.

Workflow structures represents the underlying operations of a school.

Perpetuation structures deals with such concerns of differentiated staffing as selection and promotion of personnel, credentialing and retraining of teachers, specialization of tasks, job definitions, and teachers' salaries and evaluations. It describes the policies a staffing arrangement facilitates in attracting talented personnel, retraining them for specific objectives of the organization, and inducing them to stay and perform at an optimum level.

System self-renewal describes the degree to which decisionmakers in the school have adopted a systematic and continual recycling of goal assessment, goal definition, program development, program implementation, and evaluation.

Accountability focuses on the examination of results in terms of the organization's objectives. It is designed to provide a description of the degree of success of a staffing innovation and the probability of continued performance and efficiency in relation to resources expended (including time).

The variables identified by English and DeBloois could be useful for determining degrees of successful implementation of flexible staffing plans.

Practitioners and action researchers are providing major input into a flexible staffing theory-base by identifying alternatives and juxtaposing heretofore unrelated components of staffing systems. Their contributions dominate the thinking on new staffing alternatives. As opposed to the basic researchers, they have shortened the traditional time lag between the formation of an idea and initial attempts at trial-testing and implementing it.

Current evidence suggests that establishing a theoretical base for flexible staffing is unlikely except through a synthesis of the work of (1) the organizational theorist, (2) the practitioner in the school, and (3) the action researcher. All three must be consulted and viewed as legitimate sources of input. Pluralism, awareness of alternatives, and a touch of irreverence for the conventional must be tempered with systematic inquiry. The first step toward this goal requires a definition of effective staff development. Opinions vary. For example, the National Education Association's (NEA) National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (NCTEPS)[19] defined the concept as a teacher with a staff of supporting aides, paraprofessionals, and assisting teachers. It has also been described as a teaching hierarchy with extensive vertical and horizontal differentiation of roles and with job responsibilities keyed to a differentiated pay scale. Projects of the Florida

State Department of Education and the Temple City, Calif., Unified School District exemplify this arrangement.

Irrespective of organizational plans, differentiated staffing may be considered a strategy for breaking down traditional patterns, such as the single-salary schedule, promotion of teachers based exclusively on seniority or accumulation of college credits, or the superior-subordinate relationships of administrators and teachers. This "subversion approach" is clearly evident in most of the literature on differentiated staffing which recurringly exposes the inconsistency and inefficiency of traditional staffing methods.

Flexible staffing might also be thought of as a process of training for better communication and more effective human relations. Following this approach, the model of staff utilization emerges from the interaction of staff members. This human-relations-process model characterizes a number of staffing projects, including one in Louisville, Ky.

In the Mesa, Ariz., model, the promotion and remuneration of individuals on the staff is determined by specific performance contracts. Teachers control the resources for instruction and hold themselves accountable for an agreed upon level of student achievement.

Another interpretation might be found in conventional schools where spans of control, lines of authority, staff relationships to the line, unity of command, and policies regulating the activities of members in the organization are clearly spelled out. Salary incentives are offered and positions below the certified professional level in the system may be highly differentiated. Frequently these schools manage to bend classical structures to allow for innovation, but they seldom succeed in changing the existing bureaucratic pattern.

The examples represent staffing innovation. Each incorporates, to some degree, the principles of staffing flexibility and role differentiation. Yet a theoretical rationale based on any one narrow definition would prove inadequate to the rest. A comprehensive theoretical model, therefore, must be developed to provide a description of the whole "camel" of staffing structures—one that will offer a means for studying the interrelationships among process and product variables and serve as a standard.

THE NEED FOR SYSTEM ANALYSIS

If differentiated staffing is a means to an end, the end must be established in terms of student-learning objectives. This can become a time-consuming and tedious process which eventually leads the inquirer into system analysis.

Several field projects have used Kaufman's system model in implementing staff differentiation.[20] Kaufman's model envisions differentiation as a means to specified ends through a general, six-step problem-solving procedure:

1. Identifying problems based upon a needs assessment;
2. Determining solution requirements and solution alternatives;
3. Selecting solution strategies from among solution alternatives;
4. Implementing;
5. Determining performance effectiveness; and
6. Revising as required.[21]

The procedure causes implementers to examine the subsystems in school organization; e.g., the distribution of power and its relationship to role status and authority; the different modes of communication, including the informal grapevine; and the decisionmaking processes. Also, implications for extralegal organizations such as the teachers' union, parent groups, teacher preparatory institutions, State agencies involved in certification—each related to the whole—can be analyzed via a system approach.

RESEARCH EVIDENCE

As with most educational innovations, hard data on either the effectiveness or the efficiency of alternative staffing patterns are almost nonexistent. The "evaluations" which can be documented more closely resemble descriptive narratives of procedures rather than evidences on which conclusions may be based. Nearly all of the inductive interpretations come from sources ultimately associated with the projects.

Three studies are reported here, each dealing with a frequently raised issue in differentiated staffing; i.e., the type and quality of change that might be expected, the attitudes of teachers who participate in the change process, and the

Table 1.—PROJECTS FUNDED UNDER THE SCHOOL

Description		Kansas City, Mo., Public Schools	Prince William County Public Schools Manassas, Va.	Florida State Staffing Project, Tallahassee	Board of Education Chicago, Ill.	Brookings, S. Dak., Independent School District	Mesa, Ariz., Public Schools	Louisville, Ky., Public Schools	Marin County Public Schools Corte Madera, Calif.	Temple City, Calif., Unified School District	District #502 Ferndale, Wash.
Funded As	Planning				X						X
	Development			X	X	X					
	Implementation	X	X					X	X	X	
1971-72	Planning				X		X		X		
	Development			X		X	X				X
	Implementation				X		X	X	X	X	
Since Funded	1–5 Months			X		X	X				X
	6–11 Months				X			X			
	1 Year		X						X		
	2 Years	X									
	3 Years									X	
Participants	Administrators	4	3	18	21	8	5	100	7	3	1
	Teachers	94	55	55	426	36	81	430	90	160	26
	Nonteachers	16	8		550			330	18	20	7
	Others	7	3	10	17	4		50	40	16	
	Totals	121	69	83	1,014	48	86	910	155	199	34
School Involved	Elementary	1		2	7	6	2	9	1	4	
	Junior High	1		1		1	1	4			
	Middle		1			2			3	1	1
	High			2	1	3	1	1	1	1	
	Totals	2	1	5	8	12	4	14	5	6	1
NEA-Associated		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X
AFT-Associated		X		X	X			X	X	X	
ACT-Associated									X	X	
Description of School Dist. Geo	Rural					X	X		X	X	X
	Suburban		X	X			X		X		
	Urban	X		X	X			X			
Description of School Dist. Soc-Ec	Upper Third								X		
	Middle Third	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X
	Lower Third	X		X	X			X			

PERSONNEL UTILIZATION (SPU) PROGRAM

Wayne County, Mich., Public Schools	Mounds View School District St. Paul, Minn.	Cherry Creek School District Englewood, Colo.	Ontario-Montclair Unified Schools Ontario, Calif.	Laguna Beach, Calif., Public Schools	Coatesville, Pa., Public Schools	Portland, Oreg., Public Schools	Western States Project Colo., Nev., N. Mex., Utah	Hood River, Oreg., Public Schools	Weber County Public Schools Ogden, Utah	Beaverton, Oreg., Public Schools	District #3 New York City	District #2 New York City	Anniston, Ala., Public Schools
X	X	X	X	X	X	X X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	X	X X	X X	X			X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
1 20 7 7	4 36 54	200 70 40	1 11 4 4	10 46 9 80	3 15	1 35 20	20 13 20 40	3 44 8	9 82 97 83	98 26 4	2 34 27 9	2 40 27 5	9 7 1
35	94	310	20	145	18	56	93	55	271	128	72	74	17
1	1 1 1	6 2 1	1	3 1 1	5 2 1 1	1 1	20	1	4 1	1 1 1	1	1	1 2
1	3	9	1	5	9	2	20	1	5	3	1	1	8
X	X	X X	X	X X	X X X	X X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X X	X X	X	X	X	X
X	X	X X	X	X	X	X	X	X X	X	X	X	X	X

economic implications of staffing variations. The staffing projects which were funded by the Office of Education came under perhaps the greatest surveillance. The studies briefly reviewed here used them as the basis for data-gathering and analysis.

Types and Quality of Change

During fiscal year 1971 the Office of Education awarded Florida State University (FSU) a modest grant to begin an assessment of the 24 differentiated staffing projects listed and described in table 1. These projects, funded under the Education Professions Development Act, represented the Federal effort supporting differentiated staffing.

As reported by the project directors, the personnel directly involved included 235 administrators, 2,134 teachers, 1,318 noninstructional assistants, and 420 "others." These individuals worked in 77 elementary schools, 11 middle schools, 19 junior high schools, and 20 high schools. Four of the districts were rural, seven suburban, eight urban, three suburban/rural combined, one urban/suburban, and one rural/urban. Although only eight of the projects were considered urban, these eight involved 2,409 individuals, or almost 59 percent of the total. Three of the projects had student populations drawn partially or wholly from the upper third of the socioeconomic spectrum; eight projects were for teachers of students drawn partially or wholly from the lower third of that scale. Twenty projects had teachers who were members of the NEA; in 11 of these the NEA was the only teacher affiliation. Twelve projects had teachers associated with the AFT, one exclusively. The Association of Classroom Teachers (ACT), an NEA department, was active in four projects.

A first objective for districts involved in school personnel utilization (SPU) projects was the nurturing of acceptance and understanding on the part of teaching personnel. For this purpose, the FSU evaluation team developed a set of instruments to measure the degree of understanding and level of willingness to participate. The participants were not required to give their names, but they did identify their school, project, and positions in the educational system (e.g., faculty, administration). Analysis of the data gathered revealed the following salient factors:

1. The faculty and administrative personnel of experimental and control schools were generally able to distinguish between differentiated and traditional staffing characteristics.
2. The personnel in SPU projects made this distinction to a higher degree than did those in the other schools.
3. Both faculty and administrative personnel of all groups surveyed preferred working in a school having the characteristics of differentiated staffing rather than in a school having more traditional characteristics.
4. Administrative personnel had a stronger preference for the differentiated characteristics than did the faculty.
5. The faculties of project schools had a greater preference for differentiated characteristics than did the faculties of other schools.

The data also suggested that SPU projects are focusing on certain aspects of staffing flexibility and ignoring or paying little attention to others. Administrators, faculty, and a small, nonrepresentative sample of parents were given an example of 31 goal statements reflecting aspects of differentiated or traditional staffing situations and asked to rate and rank these as most desirable and least desirable. There were responses from 20 projects. The 10 statements rated most desirable appear in table 2.

In addition to the comparisons which can be made from these tables, several other factors emerged which have interesting implications for differentiated staffing project development:

1. Administrators and faculties of project schools were uncertain whether pupil achievement could be used as a criterion in the evaluation of teachers. The faculties in traditional schools were strongly opposed. Parents indicated strongly that achievement could and should be a factor in teacher evaluation.
2. Administrators, teachers, and parents associated with project schools were not certain they desired teacher specialization beyond that of subject or grade level. Traditional school faculties indicated a strong desire to work where little specialization beyond subject area or grade level existed.
3. Contrary to most public rhetoric, administrators and faculty members of project schools

Table 2.—ASPECTS OF DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING RATED MOST DESIRABLE, AND RANK

Goal Statement	Rank Given By		
	Administrators (N=66)	Faculty (N=566)	Parents (N=98)
1. The school periodically explains to parents and to the public in general the objectives of the school and the extent to which they are met	1	1	1
2. Teachers usually approach faculty meetings with a sense of responsibility for helping solve school problems	2	3	2
3. Teachers are employed on the basis of their interests and special abilities as well as on their certification status	5	2	4
4. Teachers are provided inservice training opportunities leading to increased instructional responsibility and increased pay	4	6	7
5. Paraprofessionals and other noncertificated personnel are used in the classroom as instructional assistants	3	7	8
6. The school periodically asks parents and the public for their opinions about school policy and objectives	6	8	3
7. Instructional problems are solved through a group process involving teachers	7	5	5
8. Teachers interact with administrators in group meetings as equals, even though their responsibilities differ in type and amount	9	4	6
9. Budgetary appropriations are related to educational objectives	8	10	10
10. Teachers who are adept at working with small groups may spend most of their time doing so	10	9	9

indicated they were not dissatisfied with the continued movement of teachers into administration as a means of career advancement. Teachers in project schools were still reluctant or unwilling to give up the autonomy they held in traditional settings. Administrators expressed mixed positions on this point.

4. Parents were suspicious of proposals which enabled teachers to have more authority for planning and implementing entire school programs.

Another instrument developed at FSU was designed to elicit priority lists of goals and objectives from each project and descriptions of the degree of planning and implementation accomplished. All the data have not been analyzed, but a preliminary check of sample items revealed that project personnel do not consider the improvement of the teaching profession through the participation of the professional organization to be a goal for differentiated staffing. Most project activities demonstrated only a token regard for the professional organization, ignoring, neglecting, or discouraging its involvement in both planning and the training of personnel.

Goals which received the most attention concerned the use of noncertified paraprofessionals, role differentiation and specialization of tasks, diffused decisionmaking in the schools, development of a continuous inservice training program, and individualized instruction.

While the FSU findings are incomplete,[22] there is strong evidence that most of the claims made by directors and personnel in the 24 projects were based on goals they *hoped* to accomplish rather than on practice. For example, one project, prior to the evaluation, claimed to be fully implemented, yet the responses of personnel and findings during an onsite visit demonstrated that relatively few goals had been implemented. In another project, only two goals of the 10 listed as most important had been implemented. Federal financial support of differentiated staffing has been minimal, but even those plans assisted have missed their targets. When innovators pursue uncharted paths, progress can be slow. Solutions to complex problems such as differentiated staffing require time, talent, and continued fiscal support.

Attitudes About Differentiated Staffing

Most analyses of teachers' reactions to differentiated staffing are based on official statements from their organizations—NEA and

AFT (for examples see chapter 4, "Positions of National Teachers Organizations"). Too little research has concentrated on direct reactions. Obviously, "official" statements may or may not adequately represent progressive education thinking in the field.

In a recent study, English[23] attempted to assess attitudes of teachers toward differentiated staffing along the following dimensions:

1. The attitudes of teachers toward the concept of a teaching hierarchy.
2. The degree to which teaching tasks could be differentiated.
3. The degree to which a salaried difference was necessary for organizational recognition of these differences.

English hypothesized that the teachers' sex, position on the salary schedule, and the school level would have a bearing on their attitudes. Strong and positive relationships were found for the comparisons made (comparisons were significant at the .001 level of confidence). In brief, the investigator found:

1. Secondary school and beginning elementary school male teachers were most positive toward staff differentiation.
2. Secondary school female teachers were more positive toward flexible staffing arrangements than elementary female teachers.
3. Generally, the more advanced teachers were on the salary schedule, the less they appeared to see the need for staff differentiation.

English concluded his study by questioning whether an innovation which does not appeal to a majority of teachers (elementary, female) could be successful ultimately. Proponents of staff differentiation seem to have in mind the masculinization of the teaching profession through the appeal of career progress, status, and fiscal rewards. These factors appear to offer few incentives for elementary teachers.

The following positions can be based on intuitive observations and comparisons regarding idealized standards of differentiated staffing:

1. Proponents and critics of flexible staffing are too eager to ask what immediate effect staff differentiation has on student achievement and too slow to determine whether any significant innovation has demonstrated any effect one way or the other. Differentiated staffing in itself is likely to have only limited initial effects on student achievement, but it can lead to an educational climate that encourages changes that would in turn have significant impact on student learning. Sophisticated individualized learning systems are likely to be developed in a flexible environment created through the use of highly competent teaching specialists assisted by paraprofessionals. Such an environment will ultimately contribute to improvements in student attitudes and learning.

2. The concept of differentiated staffing appears to be going the way of ecology, team teaching, and the hippie movement: It is being assimilated into nonexistence. In the process of becoming acceptable to the American people, it has been watered down and compromised until the popular form has lost the promise of the earlier rationale. Differentiated staffing—originally conceived as a way to attract more highly competent individuals into the profession and stop the teacher drain into administration—is now viewed as a process to accommodate rather than change existing salary and staffing structures by adding paraprofessionals at two-fifths salary and paying the department head, who served so diligently for so many years without extra pay, at one and a quarter of base salary and calling him a directing or lead teacher.

3. In almost every case, the attempt at staff differentiation has at least improved the conditions of teaching and learning. Despite the criticism that change has not been carried far enough, even such a small change could be considered worthwhile. The enthusiasm generated among staff, the increased commitment to better instructional programs, the resurgence of professional preparations and specialized training are worthy short-range goals.

The declining trend in Federal spending for differentiated staffing projects combined with the popularization and modification of the concept has set the tone for the immediate future.

Economic Implications of Staffing Variations

Aside from the factors of programmatic developments and interpersonal relationships, there are questions of fiscal management. As educators plan for differentiated staffing, they

encounter not only personnel costs but also the problem of how to compare teaching and learning benefits with differentiated investments in staff, or of investments in teachers versus other resources. Unless some adjustments are made in cost variability, educators must live with the assumption that all teachers are equally competent to perform all the different functions of instruction.

The transition from a traditional to a differentiated staffing and salary plan may also involve major adjustment or decentralization of the school system's power and decisionmaking. A study of the relationship between these factors was commissioned by the AFT for reviewing the federally funded differentiated staffing projects. The primary thesis was that if school systems had operating steering committees (or the equivalent) they would be more likely to accept differentiated staffing programs. "Acceptance" was defined to mean that at least one school in the system would adopt a differentiated staffing salary schedule and that the school board would approve it.

A questionnaire was mailed to 22 SPU projects; 20 responded. The replies were analyzed to determine relationships among the adoption of differentiated salary schedules, board approvals, committee structures, and levels of authority and responsibility. Seventy-five percent of the schools surveyed reported that they had working committees. The average committee consisted of 17 members—9 teachers, two community representatives, one student, one teacher-association staff member, and four administrators. The ratio of teachers to all other kinds of representatives on the committees was 2:1. Although individual committees departed significantly from the typical (one had 33 members—two teachers, 14 administrators, and 17 community representatives), a majority (75 percent) represented a broad spectrum of the school community and were given administrative authority for developing a flexible staffing pattern.

School boards approved differentiated staffing schedules for more than half of the projects for which there were operating committees. Almost two-thirds (64 percent) of the schools with committees had both a differentiated salary schedule and board approval.

Other interesting facts came from the AFT study:

1. The distinction between "teacher" and "instructional personnel" was not always clear.
2. The schools tended to promote teachers from within the system when upper level jobs were filled.
3. Where the school board approved differentiated salary schedules, the schedules were approved for one or more schools but not necessarily for the entire system.
4. The school boards found it necessary to appropriate funds for the programs in addition to the Federal grants received. Many of the projects (70 percent) said they also received funds from other sources.
5. The defeat of a bond issue or tax override did not appear to retard the development of the programs.
6. The schools tended to spend more on paraprofessionals and substitutes than on inservice training for teachers. Some projects spent at least twice as much on aides as on teacher-training programs.
7. The majority of schools surveyed (75 percent) had committees composed largely of teachers who had administrative authority and responsibility for developing staffing programs.

To answer questions about what criteria can be used in determining the success of differentiated staffing programs involves more than juggling percentages and ratios. The SPU projects came to grips with the relationships between the economics of staffing and the problem of diffused decisionmaking. Because the development of such programs involved administrative reorganization and the redistribution of power in the community, most of the projects were encountering for the first time the implications of more effective use of personnel—paradoxically within the very committees established to study it.

In an era of marked attention to living costs and salaries by career teachers as well as of demands for accountability by those who pay the bills of education, the products of differentiated staffing may serve both.

IN RETROSPECT

The preceding résumé represents a first at-

tempt to examine differentiated staffing projects objectively, based on observation, historical review, and empirical data. Unfortunately, the quantity and quality of empirical data are meager.

The reviews which have been made seem to point to a number of related trends. For instance, staffing innovations are likely to be gradual and incremental rather than quick, and controls on resources are realistic possibilities. In addition, if the impetus for funding future projects shifts from the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) to the local district or perhaps the State legislature, changes are likely to be sought within the constraints of present staffing structures. Perhaps the movement will endure as an outgrowth of USOE activities.

FOOTNOTES

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CHAPTER 2

The Federal Effort

Among the programs which the then-new Bureau of Educational Personnel Development set up in 1969 was the School Personnel Utilization (SPU) program—an experimental effort to devise new staffing patterns for the Nation's schools.

To help provide a broad perspective, a national committee called a Leadership Training Institute (LTI) was created. The LTI members suggested a number of principles for the program, which were then incorporated into the program guidelines later distributed to school districts. The stated objectives of SPU were:

1. To recruit and train new personnel and retrain experienced personnel for new roles in schools which provide promotional opportunities within the instructional process.

2. To develop training programs which would enable schools to build staffing plans offering more economic and effective instruction.

Emphasis was placed on competency-based training projects. By the fall of 1969 more than a hundred school agencies had submitted proposals to the SPU program. These generally could be classified into three categories: Innovative staffing experiments already launched but desiring additional resources, innovative staffing requirements requiring Federal funding in order to be initiated, and projects which only marginally could be considered staff training programs. At least a third fell into the latter category. Only 24 of the original plans met the rigid SPU criteria and were subsequently funded—four as planning projects, seven for development of staffing models to be implemented during the fiscal year, one for both planning and development, 11 to continue implementation, and one for development and implementation. (These programs are cited in table I of this report and reviewed in more detail elsewhere.) [1]

Even though a majority of the projects were refunded during fiscal year 1971, only a minimum number of specially selected projects were continued during fiscal year 1972. The SPU Leadership Training Institute was discontinued during fiscal year 1971, and was replaced by a technical assistance mechanism that resulted from clustering and utilizing the talents from individually funded SPU projects.

There has been some discussion that the funding of differentiated staffing would be accomplished through the meshing to these efforts with other activities within the new National Center for the Improvement of Educational Systems (NCIES), but specifics have not been determined.

At this point—the end of the beginning—NCIES personnel believe differentiated staffing has promising potential when executed correctly. Along with many others in education, they are asking, "Where do we go from here?" Before answering the question they decided to look at some of the possible external mitigating factors which could either support or negate the early efforts.

With this in mind, the Office of Education asked several educators with considerable experience in the area of differentiated staffing to suggest possible next steps. These steps are presented here to stimulate discussions on those matters within the education community. It should be understood that these suggestions do not imply an increased commitment to differentiated staffing by the Office of Education.

The suggestions fall into two broad categories:

1. The need for research and development.

2. The need for establishment of special agencies and other mechanisms to facilitate necessary activities listed in the context of item 1.

At the present time research data on differentiated staffing are practically nonexistent (with the exception of the various studies noted earlier in the report, and the authors of those, in fact, admit to numerous limitations). The first suggestion is:

> *To begin research and development activities that seek answers to the questions many people involved in differentiated staffing are asking, progressing to packaged programs for dissemination and installation should the responses to the questions merit further development.*

Topics such as those outlined below need to be studied and tried (or said another way, they need to be researched and developed).

1. *Teacher involvement with parents, students, and other staff members in decisionmaking and management concerns.* Who will make decisions covering what areas of responsibility? What processes will be followed? What responsibilities do individuals and various groups have to each other? Do teachers, parents, students really want to be involved in decisionmaking activities?

2. *Responsibilities for teacher-training programs.* Who should be responsible for training personnel to participate in differentiated staffing programs? Can articulation of preservice and continuing education be established? What training is necessary for differentiated roles? How much can be learned about instruction in a setting other than a school or college? Does differentiated staffing represent a viable training model?

3. *Cost-effectiveness information.* What does it really cost to move from a traditional to a differentiated staffing pattern? How great are the transitional costs as compared to the costs when the program has been installed? What techniques are effective in redeploying existing resources?

4. *Evaluation criteria.* What tools are available and what tools need to be developed to help assess the effectiveness and the efficiency of various educational alternatives? How does one determine what evidences of "success" will be accepted by different groups who may have very different expectations for performance? What research and development competencies that do not exist at the present time are needed by educational personnel and others? How can these best be acquired?

5. *Reward systems and criteria for students and teachers.* What rewards are acceptable to students and teachers? Are financial increments the only rewards available to support the differentiated salary concepts? How can reward mechanisms be used to motivate students and teachers without becoming demeaning and degrading instruments of impersonality?

6. *Role clarifications.* Can meaningful roles which are individually and collectively satisfying be developed?

7. *Relationship to a changing society.* Is staff differentiation as it is known today an answer to past problems or does it reflect what might be anticipated about society in the years ahead? How do educators anticipate the future while being totally immersed in the present? Are the differentiated staffing models being implemented today those that make the most sense in terms of student needs? What are other models that might be conceptualized and tested?

8. *Arguments for the plan(s).* Do the plans actually accomplish what they are purported to accomplish? For example, do students in fact learn more, better, with greater positive attitudes about themselves and the institutions they attend? Do teachers feel more positive about themselves and about their students as a result of working together in a differentiated system? Are student programs individualized to a greater (sufficient) degree? Do teachers actually progress through a developmental career ladder? Are teachers engaged in activities in the school which exploit the individual talents of teachers and others in the teaching-learning processes? Are differentiated staffing plans and models transferable from one institution to another; i.e., can a plan be developed in one location and installed in another? Do the various plans proposed have sound theoretical bases or are they promulgated by charismatic traveling salesmen coupled with some members of the profession who are intent on implementing the latest educational fad?

9. *Arguments against the plan(s).* Are teachers promoted away from their associations

with children? Is greater time and talent expended on administrative details? Will merit pay result from the differentiated salary proposals? Will teachers organizations become less powerful if the rank and file of teachers become differentiated? Are teachers generally prohibited from participating in decisions about their own destiny? Can upper level positions in the organizational framework become service oriented rather than supervisory oriented?

There are a number of additional issues that must be analyzed. As more data become available, new issues are likely to emerge, and these issues must still be reviewed and dealt with.

Making research relevant requires mechanisms to feed back results into operational systems for continued development and refinement of ideas and procedures. Research that is not tied to development activities, and vice versa, should not be supported.

The second suggestion is:

To initiate from four to seven adequately funded development models of staff differentiation over an extended period of 5–10 years.

Up to this time, there have been a few independent and federally funded projects which have explored partially some of the many variables mentioned above. The type of research and development called for here demands the level of expertise proposed for the National Institute of Education (NIE). The NIE could collaborate with the newly formed Experimental Schools Project in such a way that theory and practice could be brought together in a unified effort. Perhaps this suggestion would help to avoid the dissipation of scarce human and fiscal resources over many fragmented projects. A better alternative involves investing massive resources in a few potentially promising comprehensive programs.

Presently the bulk of professional literature on differentiated staffing is theoretical; the best sources of empirical data are still the schools which are experimenting with differentiated staffing. If a single, competent agency were established to research and develop promising concepts of differentiated staffing in real-life situations, it might be possible to improve the quality of the results. Neither local-level nor ivory-tower personnel, working in isolation from each other, are likely to arrive, systematically and definitively, at the answers desired.

The third suggestion is:

To establish a task force as part of the Commissioner's National Advisory Council on Education to monitor differentiated staffing problems and progress.

This group could and should be charged, for example, with the responsibility for calling public attention to the needs among students, taxpayers, and the professional associations. This reporting is necessary because the needs and power of a particular group may not be the same as other groups; the public needs to be kept informed about pressure groups as well as about new ideas and approaches in education. The task force, in addition, would have responsibility for reporting to the Commissioner of Education on the progress (or lack thereof, and why) of promising new ideas related to differentiated staffing.

The fourth suggestion is:

To establish a central responsibility for disseminating the most up-to-date documented information about differentiated staffing matters.

An agency with such responsibility would prepare, or have prepared, a variety of media which could be made available to a diversified audience, such as legislators, boards of education, community groups, and teachers. The fragmented types of information currently available pose many questions and seldom offer anything other than emotional commitment (one way or the other) as answers. This agency should help to establish credibility between reporting agencies and reviewers by pointing out the differences between glib rhetoric and documented evidence. The agency would serve as a human and materials resource bank, listing and locating people and programs that might be used by nonfederally funded projects when assistance is desired or needed. It is to be hoped that duplication of effort would be held to a minimum if the proposed agency were activated. The ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) system might be utilized for this purpose.

FOOTNOTE

1. *Differentiated Staffing in Schools*, Education U.S.A. Special Report, National School Public Relations Association, Washington, D.C. 1970.

CHAPTER 3

The State's Role

Regardless of the term used in individual instances—State education agency, State department of education, State department of public instruction—*State education agency* (SEA) is used here to refer to the office that administers education within a State, in concert with State legislative authority.

State education agency efforts have traditionally been directed toward maintaining minimum standards and meeting established needs. Each must determine its own specific role in supporting and implementing innovative practices. During the decade of the 1960's the agencies have been assuming more realistic responsibilities for education, and several have made commendable efforts with differentiated staffing.

Modern staffing patterns, ranging from the kind of team teaching advocated by Trump and others to the utilization of teacher aides or paraprofessionals, have been developed and implemented in many local schools and school systems.[1] As mentioned previously, some States have made or are considering changes in their certification regulations to facilitate and encourage differentiated staffing. The primary role of any State education agency, then, should be one of technical assistance to local schools, because many systems do not have the range of personnel competencies necessary for installing new programs and staffing patterns.

State education agencies also could encourage local districts to go beyond the minimum standards required by State regulations. In addition, incentives provided by the State agency could be related to State provisions for support of schools, perhaps in the form of additional funds.

These three areas seem to be essential SEA roles for promoting the exploration of differentiated staffing concepts.

MAJOR PROBLEMS

If State education agencies are to provide leadership, they must give consideration to the decisionmaking processes. Most agencies have had difficulty in the past supporting innovative programs, and the decisionmaking processes so vital to implementing differentiated staffing may be even more difficult to support because of a lack of comprehension of new developments in this area on the part of program-oriented and regulatory-oriented agency personnel. This notion may be greatly oversimplified due to the intricacy of seeking consensus on most innovative efforts, but the problem is real and must be faced by those involved in change within the State systems. For too long the State agencies have been content to perpetuate the old and tried and have looked with suspicion upon the new and untried.[2] And along with their ideological commitment to the exploration of new and promising programs and staffing patterns for the public schools must go a financial commitment for research and development.

LEGISLATIVE IMPLICATIONS

Legislation for differentiated staffing has helped several SEA's develop experimental school programs. Florida, for example, pioneered in the development of a statewide network of programs through enabling legislation (1968) under which network schools were to design and implement flexible staffing patterns. These patterns were to be studied as feasible

alternatives to the conventional designs in hopes of discovering ways to better utilize the time and talent of Florida's teachers. A State management system was created to:

1. Encourage local districts to establish process models of flexible staff utilization.
2. Develop and distribute introductory training materials.
3. Promote a variety of inservice training models for differentiated staffing roles.
4. Determine program effectiveness through a monitoring and evaluation system.
5. Test performance criteria for the development of new training approaches for personnel serving in new roles.

Developments in other States have been equally promising. Kentucky enacted legislation permitting 20 schools to initiate differentiated staffing on an experimental basis for 2 years, and 10 school districts were permitted to use State funds for paraprofessional salaries in a 2-year experiment. At least two school districts in Arizona have received State (as well as Federal and local) financial support for flexible staffing programs. In California, legislators have commended the staffing program at Temple City and encouraged other districts to develop similar programs.

Although several States have enacted legislation promoting innovative staff utilization, few have provided both legislation and financial support. The implications are obvious.

IMPLICATIONS FOR CERTIFICATION

Experimentation with differentiated staffing has raised issues regarding teacher certification to fit new positions. The range of positions brings up the old question of whether to seek a new certificate or a new endorsement for every new specialized area of teaching. The national trend in recent years has been away from the proliferation of separate-name certificates, with a steady diminution in their numbers, and toward the endorsement of new areas on existing certificates. The advocates of this practice hold that new certificates are not necessary, that they tend to create new divisions among teachers and increase confusion about the purposes to be served by certification. Some fear that creating new certificates as new specializations arise results in turn in creating several distinct professional groups in teaching; that is, they tend to give identity to several professions instead of promoting one profession in the public schools.

Yet, if separate levels of pay are to be established, what are the central mechanisms within the framework of certification? Is the designation of personnel qualified for gradations in pay to be left to the employing authorities? Or are the qualified to be identified by certification?

From the reports of State directors of teacher education and certification in 1970, little effort has been made as yet to adjust certification to the proposed specialties of differentiated staffing.[3] Adjustments were reported by several States to exercise proper controls over the duties assigned to paraprofessionals and teacher helpers. These efforts center predominantly upon the issuance of State guidelines or regulations (in Colorado, Kansas, Mississippi, Montana, New Jersey, New Mexico, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming) rather than reliance upon certification. Only eight States (Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey, New Mexico, Vermont, and Wisconsin) reported some form of legal authorization for paraprofessional service in the classroom.[4] At least three of these set minimum preparation requirements for paraprofessionals or teacher aides. Delaware issues permits to teacher aides, assistants, and associates. Iowa licenses teacher-associates. The pressure of numbers of teacher aides has forced States to adopt some controls. (One estimate is that 110,000 aides now are employed in the public schools.)

By late 1971 Florida, Texas, and Washington had begun experimenting and developing new credentialing procedures, based upon a competency approach to both teacher education and utilization, which would have required the adaptation of the differentiated staffing concept. Competency-based teacher certification is being viewed as a mechanism for strengthening the training aspect of teacher-education programs. It is assumed by many that States should adopt a comprehensive set of competencies which each teaching candidate must demonstrate. When these competencies are demonstrated, the candidate receives a teaching certificate.

Teachers are not likely to support abandon-

ment of legal certification. But they will, perhaps, support a simplification of the process, such as having one legal license, with the profession certifying competence in a specialty. The latter could serve as an extralegal, although valid, national certificate. Many teachers would support one legal license at each of four levels of preparation—bachelor's degree, master's degree, 6 years of preparation, and doctor's degree—with certification of specialized competence as previously indicated.

Teachers are not likely to support repeated demands from some quarters to abolish all State controls on professions, including licensure. The resulting confusion and abuse of freedom would lead to a public clamor for resumption of legal controls on professional preparation and practice. Teachers are unwilling to undergo the inevitable if all controls were put aside, although they are quick to agree that major modifications are necessary.

FOOTNOTES

1. State Leadership in Education Project (Edgar L. Morphet, dir.), Compact of the States, Denver, 1967, p. 1.
2. Lloyd N. Morrisett, "Changes and Developments in State Departments of Education," paper presented at the Second Annual Meeting of the Compact of the States, Denver, 1967.
3. T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States*, 1970 Edition, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1970, pp. 20–21.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

CHAPTER 4

Implications for Teachers' Associations

Differentiated staffing has become a controversial and emotional issue, partially because there seems to be confusion on the part of the teachers associations—local, State, and national—as to their role in public education. The associations traditionally have two stated goals: (1) the improvement of working conditions and (2) the improvement of methods and procedures by which the members perform their professional responsibilities. When these two priorities achieve unequal recognition, conflict arises between the members and leaders.

Perhaps the conflicts about differentiated staffing could have been avoided if misinformed or uninformed members of boards of education and legislatures had not sought to push the new plan as a means of introducing merit pay. When differential pay is given to teachers performing the same tasks—i.e., merit pay—associations rightfully become disturbed. Associations have long opposed merit pay as an inequitable way of compensating professionals.

Associations truly concerned about improving the quality of instruction in the Nation's schools must examine openly and objectively every possible alternative. Since differentiated staffing is only a possible means to an end, the end is the alternative that must be examined. English recognizes this by warning:

> . . . Viewed as an end, we may simply refine the status quo. More productively, [differentiated staffing] should be seen as a means toward greater utilization of educational resources. It may provide a breath of fresh air for American education. To have tried it and failed may in itself be a new dawn for the teaching profession. Not to have tried it at all may be to have failed at professionalism.[1]

If in the development of an instructional program it becomes obvious that the traditional staffing pattern gets in the way of meeting student needs, then the pattern must be altered. If what emerges is a differentiated staff, the associations must provide for such a pattern in their negotiations and decisions.

Currently, then, it appears that teacher groups are quite conservatively considering differentiated staffing and in the process are:

1. Guarding professional autonomy by active participation in negotiation.
2. Considering very carefully which positions should be granted tenure.
3. Considering how district-level positions will be filled once qualified candidates are located.
4. Guarding the career ladder-longevity of the regular classroom teacher.
5. Guarding against the creation of a larger group of quasi-administrators.
6. Encouraging the involvement in study and planning committees of educators, students, and community representatives.
7. Recognizing that accountability must be shared by *all* personnel on the basis of job descriptions.
8. Considering changes in staffing patterns only after revision and modification of the curriculum demands change.
9. Determining costs for one pattern as opposed to others.
10. Guarding against a presumption on the part of boards of education that differentiated staffing is another path to merit pay.

POSITIONS OF NATIONAL TEACHERS' ORGANIZATIONS

National organizations of teachers tend to be skeptical of the validity of differentiated staffing in the public schools. For example, by resolution the National Education Association (NEA) "believes that this concept must be carefully scrutinized and any plan for differentiating staffing be viable, flexible, and adaptable to keep pace with changing conditions in the schools and society."[2] The resolution insists upon certain safeguards:

> The Association insists that any design for differentiating staff, to be successful, (a) must meaningfully involve classroom teachers and the local associations from the initial stages of development through implementation and evaluation, (b) must clearly define roles and responsibilities of certificated and noncertificated staff so that the actual process of teaching rests in the hands of individuals having sound educational preparation, and (c) must keep the community informed and seek its cooperation in order to prevent misunderstanding of the educational values to be gained from differentiated staffing.
>
> Available funds must be sufficient both to assure maintenance of manageable loads and to guarantee remuneration for all staff —auxiliary personnel, teachers, and administrators—based upon well-grounded criteria and not bearing the characteristics of a merit pay plan for teachers.[3]

The NEA's apprehensions revolve around the following issues:

1. That too ready acceptance of the concept may invite hidden agenda.
2. That classroom teachers, most directly affected by the proposed reorganization of their duties, should be involved in developing proposals for such reorganization.
3. That protection against the direct act of teaching by noncertified personnel be assured.
4. That the concept must not be used to increase teacher load as a backdoor approach to economy.
5. That the concept must not be used as a subtle approach to the adoption of merit pay schedules.

A resolution of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) repeats most of the NEA's apprehensions and adds others. The AFT believes differentiated staffing tends:

1. To create a vertical hierarchy, with job responsibilities commensurate with a rate of pay, thus resulting in merit pay scales;
2. To destroy the cooperative and communal effort necessary for effective teaching;
3. To create divisiveness within the teaching staff; and
4. To be of dubious value in improving the learning process.[4]

The AFT resolution opposes any plan which reduces the number of teachers or implies an arbitrary reduction of financing.

The American Association of School Administrators (AASA), at its 1971 national convention, endorsed differentiated staffing but specified that classroom teachers must be involved in implementing such a plan.

The Association of Classroom Teachers (ACT)—the NEA's largest unit in terms of members—reiterates the position taken by its parent body and further urges individual iniative on the part of teachers. For example, the ACT charges local associations with the responsibility:

> . . . to study the theories and practices of differentiated staffing so as to be prepared to present teacher views when a staffing plan is being considered [and] to reject any plan that reflects merit pay for classroom teachers in its salary schedule and/or that does not provide adequate representation of the local association in the development of differentiated staffing proposals.[5]

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING: VIEWPOINTS OF TEACHERS

Most teachers believe differentiated staffing, if properly conceived and implemented, has potential for improving education. First, the plan could provide economic incentives and position promotions for a life career as a classroom teacher. The traditional arrangement—promotion away from the classroom—tends to embitter teachers because it implies an inferior sta-

tus for those who prefer teaching to administration.

Second, differentiated staffing offers a variety of challenging positions and the potential to end what has been described as the "flatness" of a teaching career. Flatness produces a repetitiveness which becomes boring—the teacher follows the same work routine year after year. If a teacher is imaginative, creative, and continues to pursue ever new and better approaches, this argument is erroneous. But the system, with its handed-down curriculums, imposition of set schedules, fixed routines, and insistence upon institutional conformities, tends to stifle urges to be creative.

Third, the perceptive teacher, quite aside from any personal advantages he or she may envision, sees differentiated staffing as a promising plan to achieve what ought always to be the prime objective of any school or any teacher—better opportunities for children to learn and to grow. The ACT, in fact, places this as the first probable advantage of the plan:

> ACT believes that the concept of differentiated staffing is one of many concepts of school organization and staff development that hold promise for enhancing educational opportunities for children and that may provide a means of better utilization of teacher time and talents.[6]

Teachers sense that differentiated staffing could result in placing curricular decisions in what they deem to be the proper place—in the hands of teachers, who must implement the decisions if they are ever to be meaningful and effective.

On the other hand, classroom teachers have some fears about differentiated staffing. For instance, they believe the new design could result in the creation of another high-powered, highly paid, nonteaching hierarchy, adding another layer of expensive supervisory-consultant-director personnel. Such a superhierarchy, many believe, may in reality be an effort to create a job market for newly coined Ph.D.'s during an era of surplus. Their suspicion may be absurd; nevertheless, it is in their minds and is reflected by repeated references to a vertical hierarchy (instead of a horizontal one).

An AFT official has expressed well the convictions of some that the vertical arrangement of differentiated staff contains dangers:

> The concept of verticalism is a negative strategy in that it seeks to abandon the single salary schedule and, while it is not synonymous with merit pay . . . it injects a substitute which is equally abhorrent to classroom teachers, namely, that "levels of responsibility" can be distinguished in terms of salary differentials. . . . We reject the arbitrary designation of vertical levels (of authority, salary, status) between specialists and generalists, one group of specialists and another, or any other educational personnel performing roles designated on such ladders as master teacher, senior teacher, staff teacher, etc. . . .The concept of horizontal differentiated roles and responsibilities is consistent with the union principle of Extra Pay for Extra Work.[7]

From the viewpoint of national organizations, reference to the creation of different levels of responsibility carries some nuances of concern for the danger of loss of membership, particularly if the role of the teacher changes significantly. The professional organizations would lose strength if the ranks were split.

FOOTNOTES

1. Fenwick W. English, *Et Tu, Educator, Differentiated Staffing?* TEPS Write-in Papers on Flexible Staffing Patterns, No. 4, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1969, p. 22.
2. *NEA Handbook, 1970–71*, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 81.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 81–82.
4. Resolution 39 of the American Federation of Teachers, adopted at the Annual Convention, Washington, D.C., August 1970.
5. *Official Report, 1969–70*, Association of Classroom Teachers, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1970, p. 66.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Robert D. Bhaerman, "Ten Personal Views on Differentiated Staffing . . . and the Vertical Hierarchy," *Quest*, No. 12, August 1970.

CHAPTER 5

The Outlook

REDEPLOYING HUMAN AND FISCAL RESOURCES FOR QUALITY

Most people agree that a quality product costs more than an inferior one. But while we want and expect educational quality, there is growing opposition to ever-rising school costs. Accountability, performance contracting, program planning and budgeting systems, voucher systems, and differentiated staffing attest to today's emphasis on getting the most for the dollar.

As educators strive to make programs accountable to public scrutiny, the complex question of remuneration for instructional services must sooner or later be answered. How can a differentiated teaching design not significantly increase pupil, class, or school unit costs? How can it at the same time result in improved instruction? Can quality education be provided by redeploying existing resources, or are new resources required?

Comparing Financial Differences

To compare costs of different educational programs (as opposed to school system costs) the premises upon which the comparison is based must be defined carefully. To analyze the cost of a differentiated staffing program is to analyze value choices within a school complex. Unfortunately, perhaps most of the commonly accepted cost-benefit methods—e.g., dollars per child, dollars per classroom, dollars per school unit—are not applicable. Too, differentiated staffing typically involves administrative reorganization and diffused decisionmaking, causing a redistribution of power. Financial analyses of these factors are difficult at best. Candidly speaking, there may not yet be available the tools or the expertise to make the necessary analyses.

Less difficult to review and assess are some plans for redeploying existing resources.

Task Analyses

To facilitate learning, most flexible staffing programs match tasks which require a high degree of professional skill with practitioners who possess the requisite training and experience. Clerical, technical, and monitorial tasks are performed by those who have lesser responsibilities and preparation. The salaries are proportional to the roles filled. Thus, $12,000-a-year teachers spend time on activities that require their expertise; they do not mount bulletin board displays, crank mimeograph machines, or count lunch money. The $5,000-a-year aide is doing these jobs. The effect on the school budget may be the same; that is, reorganizing the school staff may cost neither more nor less than the amount spent for a traditional staff organization wherein each member attempts to do all the jobs required in an instructional program.

Perhaps a false assumption that is made too frequently, however, is that a "quality" program existed in the first place. Where the assumption *is* false, a more careful diagnosis of the tasks to be performed usually indicates the need for increased expenditures. It should be noted that the defining of performances via tasks analyses requires clarification of task statements, a chore not to be taken lightly.

Differentiated staffing per se does not perform a reputed dollar-spent, dollar-received miracle. Economic efficiency requires more than

staffing. It requires a total flexible organization for instruction. As might be expected, the period of transition from a traditional to a differentiated organization is the time when significant expenditures above normal are often noticeable.

The transition from old to new is normally marked by several factors which cause sizable expenditures. The first factor has to do with increased personnel costs. If, for instance, differentiation were superimposed on the conventional design, additional personnel would inflate considerably the total costs of staffing. Also, an artificial organization would be created. Most efforts at implementation, therefore, have occurred in evolving stages, striving toward models of optimum design.

The second major transitional cost is for retraining programs. (Many early and current training program costs were and are covered by Federal grants.) A flexible instructional organization often includes substantial changes in staff interpersonal relations, materials, facilities, techniques of instruction, and time allocations. To permit a school staff to enter such an organization without inservice preparation for it is to sow the seeds of ultimate failure.

A third cost factor may come from the need to modify physical facilities. Flexible instructional organizations may not be at home in egg-crate-type conventional school buildings which would not permit the staff to work either effectively or efficiently.

As new models of staffing are tested, careful analyses should be made of the types, quality, and quantity of resources needed for transition and full implementation. These reviews could make for more realistic fiscal projections in subsequent plans. What is most important, however, is that these projections should relate transitional and end costs to student achievement and other educational objectives.

WHAT IS IN THE FUTURE FOR DIFFERENTIATED STAFFING?

Given human inertia toward change—the natural suspicion of hidden agenda in any new organizational proposal—projections of future possibilities for differentiated staffing must allow for human reactions.

In the context of discussions and proposals for accountability, performance criteria, and performance contracting in relation to differentiated staffing, teachers tend to be defensive. Often they view differentiated staffing as part of a total plan to reduce the cost of education and increase teaching loads. They question any evaluation in terms of industrial processes and hold that education, with its essential interaction of human personalities, can never be reduced to measures of assembly-line productivity. They know the results of a good education cannot always be observed immediately. While some objectives can be measured in contemporary terms, such as comparative scores in reading and arithmetic, these are only a few factors in the sum of educational life.

The first real advance in implementation of differentiated staffing may come in the expansion of the use of paraprofessionals. Greater utilization of teacher aides offers promise for shifting nonprofessional tasks to nonprofessionals—tasks which can often be done better by aides than by teachers.

Since teachers instinctively resist the hard sell and sometimes reject plans that are quite sound philosophically and practically, they must be sincerely involved step by step in the original planning and the successive gradations of implementing differentiated staffing.

The probability for widespread acceptance of differentiated staffing depends to a significant degree on a gradual transfer of leadership from colleges and universities, the Office of Education, and other such agencies to the local public school level. Teachers resent direction and planning of their working conditions by "others." Differentiated staffing imposed from outside is doomed.

However, there will be intensive experimentation with other aspects of differentiated staffing, particularly the various roles of teachers and consultants. For these staffing experiments to make an impact, certain conditions must be met:

1. Better educational service for children must be demonstrated and validated by impartial research. This goal must be constantly held forth as the aim and end of differentiated staffing.

2. Educators must demonstrate beyond doubt that differentiated staffing opens new opportunities for career satisfaction and motivation. If

staffing models can be produced based on a horizontal hierarchy in which teachers can move along the entire continuum as they accumulate experience and advanced preparation and not be barred from aspiring to specialized position levels, the suspicions of those concerned about vertical hierarchies may be allayed.

3. Apprehensions about evaluation of performance and differentiation must be alleviated. Essentially, three questions must be answered:

a. What criteria for evaluation will be used?
b. Who will do the evaluating?
c. What process will be followed to get answers to the first two questions?

4. Obviously, there also are economic questions which must be answered, and some of these are addressed elsewhere in this report.

If differentiated staffing is imposed from the outside or if it is initiated without a thorough assessment of needs by the instructional staff, the professional association will be likely to oppose the plan. While the introduction of a career ladder is inviting, care must be taken to avoid the same negative hierarchical concepts which have plagued the ranks of administrators. Barbee points to this potential pitfall:

> A differentiated staffing arrangement that incorporates a hierarchy of levels carries with it the possibility for status "discrepancies." Most administrators will recall a change of attitude experienced (in themselves and on the part of others) when moving from the role of teacher to the role of administrator. It might be described as the feeling that one is no longer a part of the same peer group, that is, "You're on the other side now." Differentiated staffing has the potential for minimizing the effects of this phenomenon, but at the same time it should be recognized that additional status levels may provide more opportunity for undesirable hierarchical distinctions to be made. Where position and title are overemphasized, where prerogatives of "office" are abused, and where respect of one's colleagues is derived from position rather than performance, professional relations will be unnecessarily encumbered and vital, everyday communication, with its essential flow of ideas, could be seriously impeded. The members of a differentiated staff who function in prime roles of responsibility have a particular obligation to minimize the distinction of rank and to help set a tone of openness, for creative ideas are not limited to categories of hierarchy.[1]

As professional autonomy grows, teachers will engage in making major decisions. Many advocates of differentiated staffing suggest a faculty senate as a vehicle for staff decision-making. This type of body is not new to the profession; both the Michigan Education Association[2] and the New York State Teachers Association[3] support the involvement of teachers, administrators, and community representatives in the development of rules, policies, and curricular changes in the modern school. The American Federation of Teachers presents a similar posture:

> Studies in business and industry have shown that bureaucratic expansion of structure tends to narrow decision-making opportunities of workers and push decision making into higher levels of an organization. It is essential, therefore, that differentiated staff models avoid such bureaucratic tendencies. In contrast to an industrial bureaucracy, teacher groups should work to increase the decision-making opportunities of all those in the profession. All staff members should be involved in those decisions that immediately or ultimately affect them.[4]

A faculty senate, however, cannot replace the process of collective negotiation nor should it negate the right of the instructional staff to take part in meaningful decisionmaking at all levels. Apparently, some administrators interpret instructional policy councils as an erosion of their traditional power. Needham refutes this argument, as follows:

> A differentiated staffing plan opens the decision-making machinery to active teacher participation, reduces the communication-interaction gap between the administrator and the teacher, and augments and supports the administrative leadership in solving school problems. Through collegial leadership, the administrator seeks "power with" rather than "power over" the staff.[5]

SHARED DECISIONMAKING IS LIKELY TO INCREASE

Teachers associations are attempting to achieve the self-governance that other professions have, and they will continue to do so. Differentiated staffing appears to have major implications here. One aspect of professional autonomy is that practitioners should be involved in the selection and retention of colleagues. This implies peer evaluation: since the criteria for selection of personnel would be determined by the instructional staff, evaluation would also be in their hands. English[6] says that as long as teachers leave the regulation of their ranks to the other persons or groups, they cannot govern themselves.

Before differentiated staffing makes much greater headway, the unresolved issues so well outlined by the Association of Classroom Teachers must be addressed and answered:

> Is the actual teaching process as important as the planning and other supportive tasks related and essential to teaching? . . .
>
> Can differentiated staffing be accomplished only by establishing a new hierarchy? Is there not a system by which different personnel assume different roles at different times? . . .
>
> Is a good teacher necessarily a good coordinating teacher or a good curriculum planner or a good learning analyst? . . .
>
> Will differentiated staffing foster greater solidarity among teachers, or will specialization and differentiation be a divisive factor? . . .
>
> Are the various assignments in differentiated teaching so specialized that they fall automatically into a hierarchical pattern?[7]

New staffing plans should provide for teacher assignments based on technical skill and varying responsibility apart from the administrative or managerial duties, which are a separate consideration in another staff line. A plan tailored for one school may not be appropriate for another school within the same district. The tendency to make one model fit all needs will diminish. While there is ample evidence for the success of many innovations, such as individualization of instruction, there is as yet no conclusive evidence that differentiated staffing in itself results in better education. The probability of its success rests on its meeting the predetermined needs of the students of a particular school. Only by careful and thoughtful planning can the necessary results be gained; school personnel are beginning the careful analyses.

When viewed from a future perspective, too many current approaches to differentiated staffing appear limited. Most programs which have attempted to develop new career patterns have shown great weakness and limitation in the design of both nonprofessional and professional positions in relation to advancement opportunities. Part of the reason for this is that the education profession, which has the responsibility for the design and description of new careers, has confined role definitions to present ideas of school and college. Proposed standards and training curriculums for the new careers are too often rooted in staff-utilization concepts based on a shortage of teachers rather than on improved learning opportunities for children through the introduction of new teaching specialists.

The short-term impact of such an approach is even more evident when viewed in relation to the report of the U.S. Commissioner of Education which indicates that by 1975 there will be no quantitative teacher shortage based on *present* teacher pupil ratios and *present* staffing patterns.[8]

Allan Ostar, executive director of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities, points out, however, that the phrase "teacher surplus" is misleading:

> How can we talk of a teacher surplus when perhaps half our communities are without kindergarten . . . we have overcrowded classrooms, our physically and mentally handicapped children are being neglected [and] almost half the U.S. adult population 25 years old and over is functionally illiterate. . . . Rather than a teacher surplus . . . we have "an educational deficit which, for the first time since World War II, we have an opportunity to correct."[9]

All we lack is the will to do it.

Never in this country have people been more concerned about the quality of the education of children and youth than they are now. The time

seems ripe to eliminate the mindlessness which some critics claim has pervaded our educational system.

There is great need for a systematic and effective approach to new staffing arrangements to utilize teaching talent in creating "new" schools and colleges. There is room for new careers in education, and the needs may be even broader than the profession now assumes them to be. Instead of creating low-level jobs from simple tasks now performed by teachers, long-term development strategies are needed.

New concepts of teacher education will be required in order to prepare personnel for new roles in new schools. If beginning teachers, career teachers, and an assortment of auxiliary personnel are to learn a variety of specialized roles, they will need the flexibility to move through different experiences that cannot be provided by a single mold. Teacher-education institutions will be required to develop flexible instructional organizations allowing personnel to move in and out of systematically designed teacher-preparation programs throughout their careers. These programs need to be cooperatively developed by colleges, schools (including students), and the community; in addition, the curriculums need to be directly related to the problems educational personnel will face in their professional lives in the classroom, school, and community. If teacher-education institutions cannot meet this need, other agencies must be established that can.

If the education profession changes by making distinctions among practitioners in terms of training, experience, competence, and responsibility—and if the range of salaries for teachers becomes greater, permitting and encouraging many able people to stay in some form of teaching—then teaching will become a profession of a different character. It could have more stability and stature and it should be in a better position to serve society and itself.

Part of the problem in getting teachers to become less defensive and more open-minded about differences in skill and competency comes from the fact that certain kinds of norms—often represented by salary schedules, class size, teaching periods, perhaps even credentialing standards—may have been established in opposition to nondemocratic administrative styles which have too often been prevalent. Arbitrary control mechanisms and the dependent position of teachers in bureaucratic school systems have been grounds for discontent and lost hopes for a better educational world. Few exceptions for change can be anticipated until the total organizational climate is assessed and modified to permit greater participation in decisionmaking by all those who are affected by the decisions.

Change is inevitable. And although the process will likely be slow and difficult, marred by numerous complications, educational staffing patterns will ultimately change, as will most other influences on our society.

The relevant issue may not be whether change will occur. The issue may be who will instigate it: whether change will be imposed by outside pressure groups frustrated by what they believe are turtle-paced responses to educational and societal concerns, or whether educators—the profession—will take the lead in diagnosing their own problems and determining solutions.

FOOTNOTES

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2. "Instructional Policies Council," *Negotiating for Better Schools*, Vol. II, Michigan Education Association, East Lansing, March 1970, p. 1.
3. *Guidelines for Negotiating an Instructional Policies Council*, New York State Teachers Association, Albany, 1970, p. 8.
4. Robert D. Bhaerman, *Quest Report on Differentiated Staffing*, American Federation of Teachers, Washington, D.C., 1969, p. 22.
5. Christina W. Needham, "Differentiated Staffing," *Kappa Delta Pi Record*, October 1969, p. 28.
6. Fenwick W. English, *Et Tu, Educator, Differentiated Staffing?* TEPS Write-in Papers on Flexible Staffing Patterns, No. 4, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, Washington, D.C., 1969, p. 11.
7. Association of Classroom Teachers, "ACT Viewpoints," *Today's Education*, Vol. 58, No. 7, March 1969, p. 61.
8. *The People Who Serve Education: A Report on the State of the Education Professions by the U.S. Commissioner of Education*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, Washington, D.C., 1968.
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CHAPTER 6

Summary

Differentiated school staffing is an organizational concept primarily aimed at making better use of educational personnel. Under differentiated staffing patterns, teachers and other educators assume different responsibilities based on carefully prepared definitions of the many teaching functions. The differential assignment of educational personnel goes beyond traditional distinctions, which are based on common subject matter distinctions and grade-level arrangements. This concept also seeks to develop new ways of analyzing essential teaching tasks and creative means for moving into new educational roles.

There is no generally accepted definition of differentiated staffing but advocates argue that by establishing increased specialization within the teaching ranks, and rewarding teachers financially according to performance and responsibility, there would be consequent improvement in teaching and learning. The method hopefully would help individualize instruction for children, put decisionmaking power where it belongs—in the classroom—and also provide a career ladder for teachers who would prefer to remain in the classroom rather than be promoted into administration.

If differentiated staffing is to accomplish its major goal—to improve the quality of teaching—implementation will have to be coupled with more intense research and development efforts aimed at discovering which specific teacher roles and behaviors will produce specific effects in students. One benefit of the differentiated staffing idea is the opportunity it will give for such research.

Differentiated staffing is not likely to have a major effect on student achievement in and of itself. It has good promise, however, of creating an educational climate which in turn could encourage changes that would have significant impact on student learning.

The vast majority of staffing projects accommodate the existing salary and staffing structures rather than make major efforts to change them. However, in almost every case, the attempt at staff differentiation has improved the conditions of teaching and learning. Worthy short-range achievements have included enthusiasm among the staff, increased commitment to better instructional programs, and some specialized training.

The attitude of teachers to differentiated staffing varies. One study found that secondary school and beginning elementary school male teachers had the most positive attitude toward differentiation while it had little appeal for the single largest block of teachers—women in elementary classrooms.

National teachers' organizations tend to approach the differentiated staffing concepts with caution and skepticism. These groups are guarding against the creation of a larger group of quasi-administrators, encouraging the involvement of teachers, students and community representatives in committees studying the concept, and seeking to prevent a presumption on the part of boards of education that differentiated staffing is another path to merit pay. Teacher organizations are not dismissing the idea out of hand, though.

One classroom teacher group "believes that the concept of differentiated staffing is one of many concepts of school organization and staff development that hold promise for enhancing educational opportunities for children and that may provide a means of better utilization of teacher time and talents."

Many teachers, in short, believe differentiated staffing, if properly conceived and imple-

mented, has potential for improving education. The plan could provide economic incentives and position promotions for a lifetime career as a classroom teacher as contrasted to the traditional arrangement of promotion away from the classroom—an arrangement which tends to embitter teachers by implying inferiority for those who prefer teaching to administration.

Differentiation can also offer a variety of challenging positions and the potential to end what has been described as the "flatness" of a teaching career—following the same work routine year after year. And, aside from personal advantages, it is seen as a promising plan to achieve what should be the prime objective of any school or teacher—better opportunities for children to learn and grow.

Experimentation with differentiated staffing has raised issues regarding teacher certification. So far, though, little effort has been made to adjust certification to the proposed specialities of differentiated staffing although several States have made adjustments in order to exercise proper controls over the duties assigned to paraprofessionals and teacher helpers.

Experimental programs have been launched in Florida, Kentucky, and Arizona on a limited scale. California legislators have commended a staffing model at Temple City and encouraged other districts to develop similar programs. But few States have provided both legislation and financial support.

While the Nation wants and expects educational quality, there is growing opposition to ever-rising school costs. Differentiated staffing, along with accountability, performance contracting, and program planning and budget systems, attests to today's emphasis on getting the most for the dollar. To compare the costs of different educational programs, as opposed to school system costs, requires carefully defined premises. To analyze the cost of a differentiated staffing program is to analyze value choices within a school complex; unfortunately, the usual cost-benefit methods—dollars per child, dollars per classroom, dollars per school unit—are not applicable. As might be expected, the period of transition from a traditional to a differentiated organization is the time when significant expenditures above normal are often noticeable.

While the future of differentiated staffing may remain uncertain, the first real advance in its implementation may come in the expansion of the use of paraprofessionals. Greater utilization of teacher aides offers promise for shifting nonprofessional tasks to nonprofessionals.

The probability of widespread acceptance for differentiated staffing depends to a significant degree on a gradual transfer of leadership in the development of new ideas from colleges and universities, the Office of Education, and other such agencies to the local public school level. Teachers resent having their working conditions planned by "others."

It may well be that the sound and fury surrounding differentiated staffing destroy all efforts toward a fair and accurate assessment of its effectiveness and efficiency. The concept appears to be going the way of ecology, team teaching, and the hippie movement: It is being assimilated into nonexistence. In the process of becoming acceptable to the American people it has been watered down and compromised until the popular form has lost the promise of the earlier rationale. Nonetheless, in an era of marked attention to living costs and salaries by career teachers as well as demands for accountability by those who pay the bills of education, the products of differentiated staffing may serve both. Change is inevitable—even in educational staffing patterns.

To help guide those responsible for future planning in the Office of Education, several representatives of the educational community were asked for recommendations as to the next steps. These are presented in hopes of stimulating discussion:

1. Begin research and development activities that seek answers to questions many people involved in differentiated staffing are asking, and then move to packaged programs for dissemination and installation should the responses to the questions merit further development.

2. Initiate from four to seven adequately funded developmental models of staff differentiation over an extended period of 5–10 years.

3. Establish a task force as part of the Commissioner's National Advisory Council on Education to monitor differentiated staffing problems and progress.

4. Establish a central responsibility for disseminating the most up-to-date documented information about differentiated staffing matters.

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